171 865 We may say of the children of that village on the isle of Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to 192 about five years of age, are called antaí in Tapirapé. In ● 561 Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (656), we find the following 858 entry: "Taína, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the 171 first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes curumi and girl cunhantai." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use ampyki for the small boy and pityngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peitan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kutantaí and the latter ekonomî. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña taî for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumí for a "youth."

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtãupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (*op. cit.*, pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three wirã groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [314]

(3) Baldus (*op. cit.*, p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtãupãwã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá ûwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amonikâ ûwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership.

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *ančúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north-

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wirá, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantamanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader".

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pancé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *caru*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15] One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntuwera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chane from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamá l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Réligion des Tupinamba, p. 51.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6

Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta- Ta 476 264 574 616 pirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the [796] "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic [535] prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence acticities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding pulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Weapons.—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotyrgon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561 616

Ceremonial moieties.—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. [345] [423]

Feast groups.—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tãtáupawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

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